

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal
 kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or
 blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of
 embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-
 woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched
 together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
 stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff
 pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decorated with
 designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving,
 such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
 walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the
 area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of
 carving, however, almost none of these products ever
 reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
 the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
 them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
 few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these
 transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
 has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal
 for winter fuel are important services performed by the
 villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the
 summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
 towns of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
 as sherbet or gashay (a mixture of curdled milk, gash, and
 water, gash, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a amber-
 some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
 willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

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tea
toothbrushes
toysTurkish coffee
uniform caps
watches

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On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

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To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ed Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ed Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Hajjia, and it is interesting to note from the title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper name, that three of the five have been able to make the

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or religious. In Ottoman times, while it ¹was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Ertbil, and from Ertbil the Jazira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowanduz households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the hazaar of Rowanduz. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowanduz as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Ertbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

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[i.e., the town of Rowanduz, Anaiya?]

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the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowanduz has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its hamar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest near-rival competitor of Rowanduz, arose on lands owned by Iali Qas near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowanduz, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten qinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often reconstructed. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowanduz, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowanduz, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowanduz and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

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although the Iarneli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed as regretted by the townspeople, A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil.

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It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. One these were primarily commercial, and only secondary political, while today a reversal of this position is taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline.

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000 of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

291 As the sun perked over the rugged
411 mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

• 428 I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

215 A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "Hoo!" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

000 The night has ended. Suaimanya is awake.

[Text continued on p. 302 (B)]

[p. 302 (C)]

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Kaud, the largest town in Iraqi Kurdistan with an entirely Kurdish population for whom it is an important trading center. Caravans from over the surrounding hills are always coming and going.

[P. 385 (A)]

437 The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The
 233 nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-
 236 hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth
 for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the vil-
 241 lages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the
 Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole
 country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable
 surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer
 wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own
 [44] needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health
 from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer
 crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is to-
 [45] bacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1914) is produced for the needs
 of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts,
 oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated
 [46] down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of in-
 [47] flated skins called *akak* still carry grain and other north-country produce
 more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to
 Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is
 [48] almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and
 dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer
 [49] point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

133 Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk
 [42] since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so
 far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained
 174 by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and
 large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected
 at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private
 enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious
 governmental programme.

431 This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily
 increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1912
 (£200 million in 1945) and from which the neighboring States, like the rest
 of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have
 [44] been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and process-
 [45] ing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani;
 [46] artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation
 where suitable; old roads are being metalled and new roads opened up;
 rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and
 water schemes are being subsidised; particular attention is being paid to
 schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulai-
 mani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

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NORTHERN 'IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLES

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K Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly
657 wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs
648 or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were
721 very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed
at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them
rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been
a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were
eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish
K authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found
728 that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army
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164 could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have
166 been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani,
K where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The
[779] Barmis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

I What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of
653 making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in
663 Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil,
K where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to
221 the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these
roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume
of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish
tribe, the Harki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual
migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran.
[I] During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the
K 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the
648 summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other
1 nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Govern-
2 ment to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare
E grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize
583 summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money
686 to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am
afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful.
Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the
attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret,
I tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.
K The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited
438 by the improvement in public security and communications and is
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NORTHERN IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLES

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now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unwise for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

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The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

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The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a sordid history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1919, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaïmaqam and a handful of police in the Government oval. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar. (1937) a special prior Tull of the Metropolitan Cathedral.

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